1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i takatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot: then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*soleru*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tukamba, the clan of the Tui Kaba of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu* of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndakoco { Nangalia { Matanawai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

1/1 [Ep definition of *tauvu*, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. — Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner.

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night.

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together.

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind.

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

DISCIPLINE

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

1942
241

A B C D

E F G H I

PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM FULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

[End Plate I]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used.

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass.

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women.

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder.

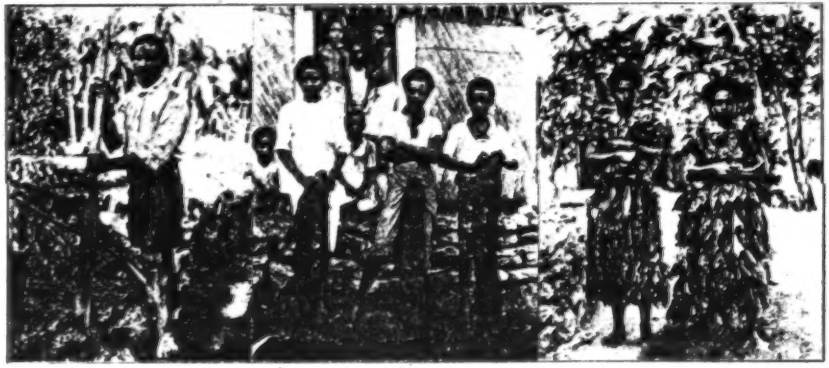
Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck.

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17″ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending

291
292
442
941
342
Fiji



A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

I: Hocart: Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
006 Lau 006
Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

766
[287
241
516]

A

[534
333]

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291
[252
415]

A

[616]

B

[28
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

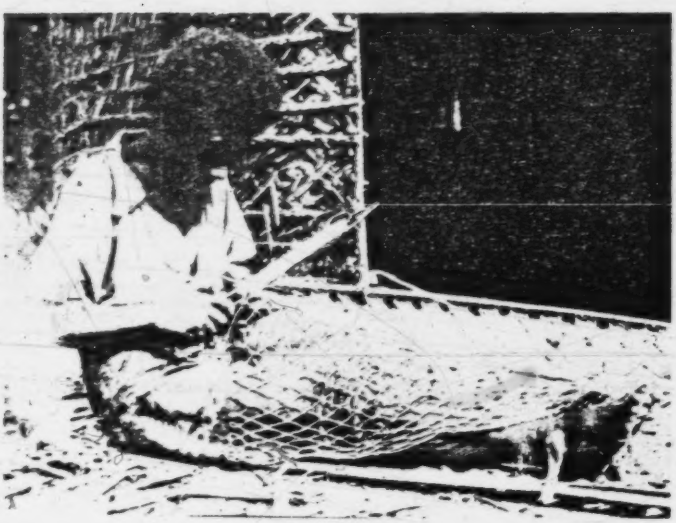
[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291
302
142
516

A

286
516



B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

142
291
301
415
285
516

A FIJIAN FISHERGIRL

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[facing p. 14]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to 312 Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the 136 lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

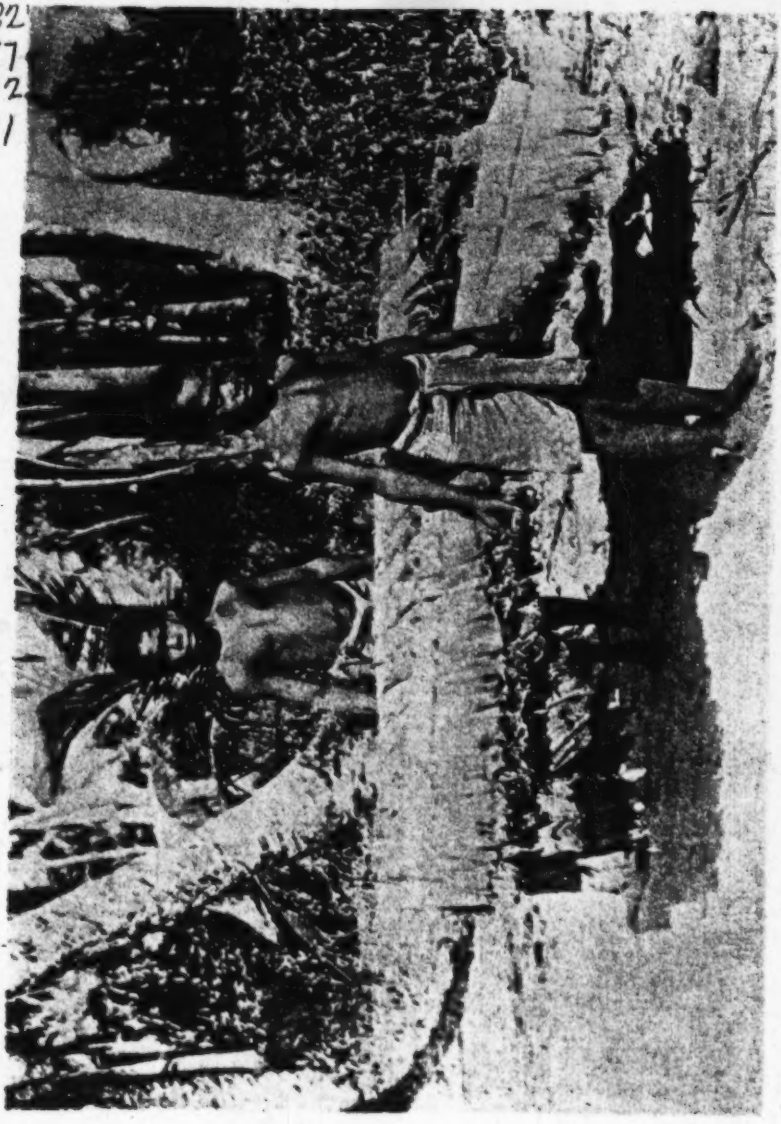
Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

482
857
142
291



BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[FACING p. 44]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

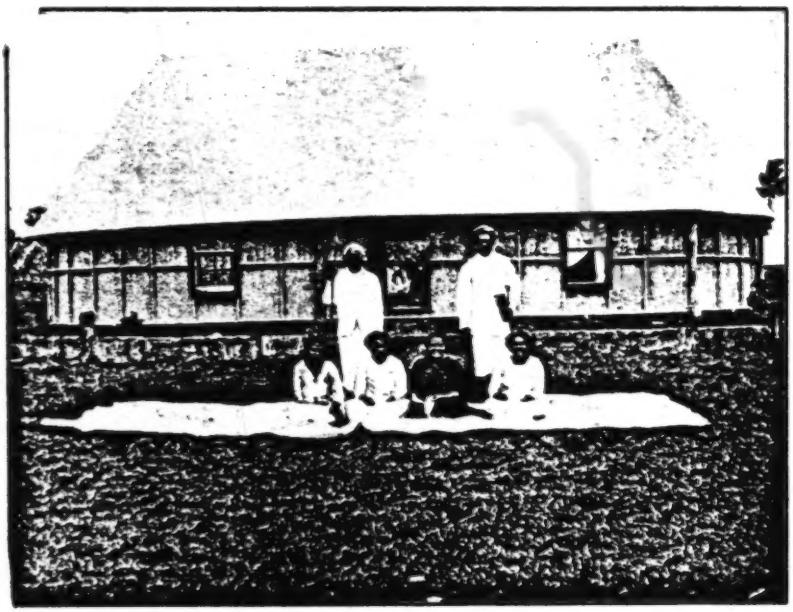
142
291
302

A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

● 291
342



A typical round-ended house of the Lau Islands.

[facing p. 92]